2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[Chaco Period] Terena

From this account it would appear that the Arawak-speaking people in this area were no longer using the large oval-shaped straw-thatched house which is still used by many of the Arawak-speaking people to the north. The covering used may have been made from "piri," a species of bulrush, which the Terena still use for making mats. This type of house was easy to dismantle and move, which may account for the probable abandonment of a more permanent type of structure.

Sánchez Labrador then goes on to describe the inside of the house:

> Each captain lives together with his brothers and their kin in one house. . . . Every house has five doors, in order that no one should get in each other's way. There is one door at each end and three on one side. When it rains, they cover their doorways with mats of rushes. Near the doors are the fireplaces and kitchens, which are no more than three movable stones, which act as a tripod on which they place their curiously worked pots. The food is cooked without any other spices than water. At the back of the house are the beds, that is, mats spread over the floor. It is astonishing that although these people grow cotton they do not use hammocks. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 276.]

In 1845, when the first groups of the Terena were already near Miranda in Brazil, we get a more definite description of Terena houses from Castelnau:

> In the village there are about 100 to 120 houses, joined to each other. They are long huts forming a circle around a big square. They resemble great "ranchos" covered with immense roofs of palm fronds. [Castelnau, 1850–59, vol. 2, p. 391.]

As to weapons and the interior of the house, Castelnau has this to say:

> The weapons of these people are spears with iron points, clubs, bows, and small arrows, and the "bodoque," an instrument which resembles a bow but has two cords united by a piece of leather in the middle on which stones are placed for shooting. In the inside of each hut there is a bed made of a platform of cane, supported by four stakes, which is covered with a hide of a bull. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 469.]

The passages just quoted give us a general description of Terena houses. The descriptions are nearly 100 years apart. Sánchez Labrador states that the occupants of the house slept on the floor, while Castelnau states that they slept on skin-covered platforms. The Terena say that they did not use hammocks until recently and that they slept on bamboo platforms, *ipá*, covered with skins or reed mats called *hitúri*.

* [work published in 1850-59, See bibliography, P. 69 -- Analyst]

they built temporary shelters of brushwood. During this period, fish moved close to the banks and into shallow pools to feed and could thus be caught with greater ease. A very common way of catching fish consisted in a number of men entering the water in order to drive the fish into a corner from where they could be caught by hand and thrown ashore. In shallow water the Terena also used conical wicker baskets open at the top and bottom. These baskets, which were about 2.5 feet high, were dropped over the fish, the fish being extracted through the top by hand. Larger wickerwork fish traps were also used. The Terena claim not to have used nets. Fishhooks made from bone were used in deeper water. For catching large fish swimming on the surface of the water, the Terena used the bow and arrow. Among the commonest varieties of fish the Terena mention the following: "marobás," *chaca-chaca;* "*trairas*," *himon;* "bagres," *ayaporé*. Fish were either boiled, broiled, or baked wrapped in clay. For broiling, the fish was cleaned, split, and placed in a cleft stick with cross sticks to keep the fish spread out. The stick was then stuck into the ground near a fire and turned until the fish was broiled. Fish were also dried on a latticework frame over a fire.

The principal weapons of the chase were the bow and arrow, the spear, and the wooden club. The Terena used a bow about 5 feet in length and oval in cross section made from a reddish-color wood, the string being made of tucum palm fiber. For game, bone-pointed arrows with two feathers were used. For birds, arrows with several slender bamboo points were used. Arrows used for shooting fish did not have feathers. In using stones, with which to kill birds, the Terena put two strings on their bows. Formerly the spear was pointed with bone, but with the introduction of iron an iron point was used. A heavy flat wooden blade or club was also used for dispatching wounded game. In addition to these weapons, the Terena used pitfalls and numerous kinds of traps.

When game was scarce and spread over a wide area, men on foot went out individually stalking deer, peccary, rhea, and tapir. If game was more plentiful and the country suitable, game could be surrounded and driven into an enclosed area where they could be shot down or speared. This method of collective hunting was particularly common after the adoption of the horse. Jaguars were sur-

[P.10-A]

feathers. The war chief had considerable authority over warriors both on war parties and during periods of training. The position of the war chief was not a hereditary one although his son could succeed him. A new chief was always selected from among outstanding warriors on the basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one enemy and to have otherwise distinguished himself as a leader and a man of courage. 616 701 726 554

The ceremony during which a new war chief was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village together and extolled the merits of the candidate for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would then signify their assent. After the selection was made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age, illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief would kneel on one knee before the candidate and offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that you will carry on my task with success." He would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his new status. The new war chief would accept it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that he must now be in the forefront of all battles and that his life was in great danger. 616 701 [554]

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on warfare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other loot. During large raids many villages combined, the ablest war chief being selected to lead the war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position was reserved for men who had committed some criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an enemy they were considered free men. Fighting was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword. 726 [721] [628] [616] [622] [411]

From what has been said we get a general picture of Terena social organization during the time the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to be corroborated by the accounts of Sánchez Labrador. How much this village life was modified by the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. From statements made by the Terena it seems 105 [179] [231]

3:Oliveira--70a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
/55a/
142
535
531
411

Scene from the "Bate-Pau" (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

3:Oliveira--70b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/55b/

142
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531
411

Scene from the "Bate-Pau," where the two groups, Harara-Iti and Hononé-Iti, appear, led by their respective "Caciques." (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

/405 cont./

592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a yntocoqui. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
● [411] the floor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.

622 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as capitão
648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photograph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his amigo. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of cafia /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.

291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

/407 cont./

323 pattern is painted with palosanto resin on the still red-hot vessel. Later, when the crockery has cooled, the design is completed
415 with red and white paint. In all the huts one finds clay utensils in every possible shape and size and suitable for every possible purpose. I saw bowls of over a meter in diameter, which are used for the preparation of mandioca flour. I would gladly have taken a few of them with me, but it was impossible for me to
323 transport them. Both sexes, moreover, make pottery, but the
462 impressing of the patterns, as well as painting them, falls to the women.

285 The men take care of plaiting baskets and hats. The baskets
294 are usually made of split bamboo, whereas the material for hats
[462] is obtained from the dried leaves of a fan palm--called
[824] carnauba. The hats find a good market in Miranda and, despite
[437] the cheap price, leave nothing to be desired with regard to durability.

585 A wedding is celebrated in two ways. The older ceremony
[178] is gradually dying out, since the culture is progressing mightily
[411] and the rifle will soon have driven out the bow and arrow. The ceremony is the following: toward noon six girls, all adorned with feathers and painting, go to the bridegroom's hut. The latter hands over bow and arrows to them, whereupon the girls, singing and dancing, bring these weapons to the bride and then go home. After sundown six young men, adorned in the same manner, fetch the bridegroom and, dancing and singing, lead him to the bride's hut. As soon as he enters the hut, he extends his right hand to the bride and the marriage is concluded. --
585 More common, however, is a second type of marriage ceremony,
273 for at it there is caña to drink. All the members of the family gather in the hut of the bride, and likewise in the bridegroom's house. Thereupon the bridegroom with his whole family goes to the hut of the bride. In front a large basket-bottle of caña is borne; behind it follow the musicians who play the yntaca and ujoe, and finally the bridegroom with the rest of the family. The bride sits on a hammock and also has a large bottle of caña

/408 cont./

796 whereupon the musicians go into their little houses and start
[533] noisy music. Then there are dancing and drinking the whole night through, and not until the first gray of dawn do the festival
796 participants disperse. During the forenoon of the second day all
541 the young men gather at the plaza, split up into two opposing parties, and attack each other until one party is beaten. This fight takes place without weapons, but the fists are used vigorously, and most have bloody heads after the battle. I was shown a young Indian who had lost an eye this way. After the fight everybody
796 gathers in the hut of the chief. One of the musicians, /409/ who
[225] is lavishly adorned, carries stag antlers in his right hand and limps to a hut pointed out to him, knocks there with the antlers on the door post, and limps back. Then the owner of the hut comes out and asks what is wanted, whereupon everybody shouts: A head of cattle (cow or bull)! (The whole tribe buys this head of cattle
[262] before the festival.) Then the man goes back and fetches the head of cattle, which is immediately slaughtered and eaten. As soon as the meat is consumed and the cafia drunk up, everyone goes home, and with this the festival is over.

796 The second great festival of the Terenos is called mainu and
541 sometimes lasts 14 days. Early in the morning on the first day,
562 all the men have a rendezvous at a place kept secret from the
[302] women, paint themselves until they are unrecognizable, and
[411] then rush shouting into the village, shooting their guns and bows, and act as though they were enemies and were about to attack the village. The women in the meantime have armed themselves with clubs, fruits, etc., and a mock battle then develops. The women throw gourds, clubs, etc. at the heads of their men and
796 finally drive them out of the village. In the afternoon the men
535 gather at the village plaza and place themselves in two rows.
[237] Then an oddly bedecked dancer appears. He wears a coat of
[302] leaves, his head is decorated with horns and feathers, his body painted with black and red paint. Under his right arm he carries a lance, in his left hand a club; he acts as though he were very tired, makes all sorts of grimaces in connection with this, limps